

dially preceding it exhibits. From another quarter, we learn that all the Estates under the attorneyship and direction of Mr. Hewitt, (13 in number) are in the highest state of cultivation, and the managers and laborers on the best possible footing.

"All these circumstances combined, speak volumes for the good conduct of our peasantry, and clearly show that the system adopted in many instances at first, with regard to the treatment of the laborers, has given way to one better fitted to the new order of things."

GUIANA.

The *Demerara Royal Gazette* observes: "Many of our readers ask us, why we have been silent so long, regarding the working of the system of free labor. Our answer is a natural one. The system has not yet been in operation for a full month. You would not have us deduce a long argument from the limited and imperfect data of eight-and-twenty days. This would be, to act, over again, the part of the impatient husbandman, who would not let his corn grow, but was always poking up the earth, in order to watch the swelling of the newly planted ears."

"So far as matters have hitherto gone, the ease with which the great transition has been accomplished, reflects infinite credit on all parties. In which age or country was ever the coercive domination of one class of persons suddenly transmuted into equality of privileges, with so little jealousy, inconvenience, and loss, as has accompanied the change in British Guiana? There may still linger some specimens of harshness, oppressiveness, or it may be, positive brutality, on the one part; and of insolence and depravity on the other; but the readiness with which the great majority, both of the proprietary body and of the laboring, are accommodating themselves to their new relations, is a matter calculated to excite great surprise. If a planter does not choose to bend to the necessities of the times, and to gain by appeals to interest and affection, that which he is no longer permitted to extort by violence, his lands running into a waste, and his produce rotting on the ground, speak to him in language to which he cannot long remain deaf. If a peasant rejects all offers of employment, and thinks to spend his day doing nothing, poverty and disgrace are at hand, to bring him to his senses."

JAMAICA.

To the Editor of the *London Patriot*.
I beg to hand the annexed extracts of letters recently received from Jamaica. Their testimony as to the admirable conduct of the negroes is fully confirmed by others I have received from various colonies and different parts of Jamaica. All statements to the contrary of these are circulated by the most infamous portion of the colonial press, or on authority equally unworthy of credit. Unhappily, but few of the attorneys and overseers have acted in other places the enlightened part of those described in the letter from Trevelyan.
Very respectfully,
JOSEPH STURGE.
BIRMINGHAM, 10th Month 9th, 1838.

EXTRACTS.

Extract of a letter from George Blythe, Scotch Presbyterian Missionary, to Joseph Sturge, dated Hampden, Trevelyan, Jamaica, 21st August, 1838:—

You will be anxious to know how the emancipated negroes conducted themselves after the festivities had ceased. On the 6th, the first day on which any were expected to work, nearly all the males of my congregation offered to engage to the same labor to which they had been accustomed. On two estates, Dundee and Kent, the former under the management of Mr. Farquharson, and the latter of Mr. G. Gordon, both of whom, I suppose, you met, all the males and some females commenced work, and continued steadily at it, without knowing what wages they could receive; and their confidence has not been abused, for their managers have since agreed to give them 1s. 8d. (1s. sterling) per day, with other perquisites. On another property, on which I have upwards of two hundred members, the attorney offered 1s. 8d., and got a considerable number of laborers, who were almost exclusively connected with my church. It is somewhat remarkable that the first who went to work were young men who had learned to read their Bibles, and have been members of Mrs. Blythe's Sunday noon class for a number of years. So much for instruction in fitting the laboring classes for their station. Some attorneys who offered only 1s. 3d. (9d. sterling) per day have not been able to make any arrangement with their people, but have got a good deal of work done by the piece. From 10s. to 12s. 4d. (currency) has been given for cleaning an acre of cane, according to the condition in which they were. Last week eight of my people cleaned a field of sixteen acres at 10s. per acre in the course of two days. They labored hard, indeed, and during extra hours. Still they made excellent wages, and one person cleaned an acre per day, which, in the days of slavery, required six or eight. The remark of the Governor has therefore been more than verified, that one free man should work as much as four slaves. Another of my people took a cane field to clean, and after paying those who assisted him at the rate of 2s. 6d. per day, had forty shillings remaining to himself for a few days' labor. If there be any in my congregation unemployed, they are merely a few straggling individuals on estates where 1s. 8d. has not yet been offered, for they have all pledged themselves to work for that sum. On some properties, the work is going on as regularly as if no change had taken place. And on the whole, the state of my congregation more than justifies the hopes of the warmest advocates for emancipation. I consider this part of the country as completely settled, with the exception of a few properties, the managers of which are obnoxious to the people, or refuse to give them adequate remuneration for their labor. This happy state of things has, in a great measure, arisen from the reasonable demands of the laborers, and the good sense of the planters, who have met them, though reluctantly, on fair terms. I suppose the most irreligious will confess that Christian instruction has also a salutary influence in the present crisis. One of my elders told me, last Sabbath, that the attorney of the estate on which he resides called him up to the overseer's house, and expressed his great satisfaction at the excellent way in which the people had behaved themselves, and added, that he attributed it to the good advice which they had received at church and from the elders at home. The following is an extract from the letter of a judicious overseer who manages a property where all the people are connected with my church:—"I think, if any thing causes the ruin of the country, it will be the folly of those who allow the negroes to sit down idle, while the offer of 1s. 8d. per day would set them all to work. When this has been offered and refused, I fear there is no alternative, as a higher rate would not leave the proprietor any thing. I assure you it is a cause of great happiness to me to see how well the people here are behaving, which I consider is caused by the good advice and instruction they get from you."

I mention not these things in the spirit of boasting, but I cannot be blamed for magnifying my office, and the great cause to which I have devoted my life. I am sorry to add that unfavorable reports have reached us from other quarters, but they are probably exaggerated; my congregation has also had many reflections cast upon them for laboring, as some of their neighbors have thought, for too low wages. While those of opposite interests have blamed Mr. Knibb, myself, and others, for combining to raise the rate of wages, I expected such censures, but

disregarded them, having had no other object in view but the prosperity of this country, and the securing of such a scale of wages as appeared equitable both to master and servant. It is no small gratification for me to see at least nine-tenths of my congregation already settled under the new system, and likely to prosper in their worldly circumstances, as well as to adorn their religious profession by a consistent conduct. I hope much from the influence of the Congregational Temperance Society. It was the first in the island, and now numbers 600 members.

In the course of the month, there has been a great addition to the school in this place. Nearly 100 young persons who were apprentices have been added to the list, making it nearly 400, of whom 260 are generally present. I expect to open two other schools in different districts of the congregation; but I find it difficult both to provide efficient teachers and funds to support them. I will endeavor now to make the schools support themselves by school fees. I cannot close without informing you that several of the Presbyterian congregations have pledged themselves to unite in the formation of an Island Emancipation Society, Auxiliary to those of Britain. We are only waiting till the country be completely settled. It strikes me that in various ways we may hasten the downfall of slavery, particularly if we be able to refer to the good conduct of the emancipated negroes in this island.

Extract of a letter from J. M. Phillippo, Baptist missionary, to Joseph Sturge, dated St. George, Jamaica, August 25, 1838.

As I wrote you by last packet, the memorable 1st of August has passed away, and with it all the evils which it was apprehended would be a consequence of that day's jubilee. To this hour ended, the newly enfranchised peasantry have conducted themselves in a manner which reflects upon them the highest honor. Not so the planter. Absorbed, as it would seem, by the prospect of compassing his own mercenary and selfish purposes, his conduct, and principles, and spirit, remain unchanged. The bad temper, the meanness, and the recklessness which many of the latter have discovered, is beyond all previous conception. Hence the bitter wailings and lamentations which will be borne to you by this mail, arising from the incipient operations of freedom. The conduct of some of the latter, indeed, is unaccountable, except, which is seriously apprehended, it is the result of a deep-laid scheme to ruin the properties for the base purpose of securing the purchase of them from the present owners at a trifling cost. Wanton and infamous violation of every social principle! But they forget, that in so doing, they demoralize and ruin the peasant. Better, if such an object is contemplated, to pay a high rate of wages to the laborer, and then it is attained without the prospect of evil consequences as to the latter. In almost all cases—I will say in every case with which I am acquainted—the people went out to work on the Monday following the 1st of August; or rather, at my request, they shouldered their hoes and presented themselves at the overseer's house for orders. By some of those gentry they were asked what they wanted; by others, told to go to work, and that what they earned they should receive. Some were informed that their services were not required; that freedom was come, and they might sit down now and enjoy it.

In not a few instances, the poor people were offered no more than one bit per day; in others, demanded to pay four days for rent of house and grounds, or threatened to be turned off the property. In some cases, the poor creatures have trusted to the professions of justice on the part of the overseers and others, and have performed a week of labor, when they in one case were presented with a bit per day, and in another with 5d., with a flippant observation, upon remembrance, that it was all the property would afford; and, lastly, some of the peasantry have had their feelings grossly outraged by their quondam masters even in their own houses. A poor man, but respectable of his class, came to me, from St. Thomas in the vale, saying that his overseer came to the door of his cottage the other day with a point pot in his hand, with which to mark the door, as a warning for the tenant to quit; and, after frequent taunts and sarcasms on the subject of freedom, went towards the woman, who was standing in the house, without receiving any provocation from her, and painted her arms, the husband and family standing by. But to show the infamous mercenary spirit of some of these reckless taskmasters, they are demanding from 1s. 8d. to 3s. 4d. per week from every inmate of the family, which would secure as large an amount annually, it has been computed, as that realized by the whole annual export. Such are the doings in Jamaica, but the aspect of things is by no means discouraging. The people are determined to have fair compensation for their labor, and they have begun already to show the planter that a combination to stifle them out is perfectly vain. Nor have they so easily as they expected frightened the missionaries into a desire for compliance with their terms, by holding out evils that would result from a contrary policy to the cause of liberty in America and throughout the world.

REBUKE FROM THE SOUTH.

An able editor in Alabama thus compliments General Hamilton.

"We know not how it may strike others, but the letter of Mr. Hamilton on the subject of Mr. Stevenson's difficulty with O'Connell, strikes us in very bad taste, and sadly wanting in the dignity which should characterize the parties and the occasion. That the Irish people have suffered his tongue to wag so freely against our country and social institutions, and consequently, if an American chooses to 'fall a cursing like a veritable,' he has no ground of complaint. But whether our national honor is vindicated by such rhabdology is perhaps not so clear. To us there is also manifest a spirit of vulgar swaggering, highly reprehensible, and which is but little consequence. We never remark upon it to show how willingly blind we are to the notorious fact, that we are totally and hopelessly isolated among the nations; that we have no sympathy whatever to exert from any kindred, tongue or people, the whole world around. Gen. Hamilton well knows that however many enemies the violence of O'Connell's course may create him among the Tories and nobility of England, his opinions with regard to American slavery are by no means peculiar to himself. So far from it, we question whether throughout the whole domain of the Island Queen, is there this day to be found one single anti-abolitionist or cordial apologist for the Slavery of the States. Read their parliamentary debates, and search their whole periodical literature for proof to the contrary."

The corollary that we draw from all this is, that we should weigh calmly but fully the dangers of our position; that we should spare indignantly the blind partnership or interested treachery of those who would persuade us that "Abolitionism is on the wane."

We have marked a few sentiments in the foregoing article, as particularly worthy of notice. The editor who thus proclaims the defenceless condition of the South, is a man of more critical habits of observation and more sagacity in judgment, than are commonly to be met with in his profession. But he has not yet told the worst. Not only has the South 'no sympathy whatever to exert from any kindred, tongue or people, the whole world around;' she has no sympathy to expect from one half of her own population, no justification from her own conscience, and, most dreadful of all, no favor from the righteous Ruler of the universe; but on the contrary, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, from that God, whose attributes stand pledged to avenge the innocent and oppress the oppressor.

The corollary this editor would draw from the peculiar attitude of the South towards the rest of the world, is, that they 'should weigh calmly but fully the dangers of' their position, and indignantly spurn those who would create the impression that Abolitionism is on the wane. And is this all? Think you that three millions of oppressors, in one small spot of our globe, can maintain their murderous hold of three millions of slaves, in defiance of the united remonstrances of every kindred and tongue and people under heaven, and in direct opposition to the will of the Most High God!

We ask the slaveholder in all solemnity, what do you intend to do?—*Philanthropist*.

THE MOB SUPREME IN PENNSYLVANIA!!

HARRISBURG, Dec. 3d, 1838.

Men and things are pretty much in statu quo here—in the technical parlance of the bar.—There is evidently that kind of calm which is the sure precursor of the storm. Upon the surface, there is that which indicates the 'brewing of a tempest'; the elements of discord are at work within, and whether or not a violent convulsion will be the result to-morrow, the Lord only knows. One thing is certain, the course of the Locofoco candidates in bringing to the Capitol their bullocks, will redound to their eternal discredit and infamy. The perils of Plutocracy's dark domains cannot furnish a more lawless, shameless, and desperate gang of ruffians, than have been perambulating our streets, and disturbing the quiet of our hotels, for the last twenty-four hours. Decent men of all parties are disgusted, and revolt at the spectacle. These desperadoes make no secret of their purposes, but vauntingly boast of their determination to disregard all law—all precedent, and by mere brute force alone, to carry their point.

The history of no times or country affords a parallel to the scene presented here now. Good men feel that the time has come, when the great battle has to be fought between anarchy and violence on the one hand, and law and order on the other—that the hour has arrived, when the supreme law of the land must fall vanquished at the feet of the mob, and the sanctity of the representatives' Hall be desecrated by the lawless violence of an infuriated populace, or unseathed, come out from the conflict proudly triumphant, through the firmness and unflinching energy of our friends. Who is there that does not feel the highest possible degree of interest in the issue of this contest? Who is there among the friends of the constitution and the laws, that does not pray that unwonted energy may fire every Whig breast—that more than human firmness may nerve each heart, and give an unwavering decision to their councils? Among the order-loving, law-revering citizens of Philadelphia, there are none, I emphatically answered! The inquiry meets you at every turn, 'What will be the result of this fearful state of things? In what will it terminate? Will there be violence? Will there be bloodshed? The most intense interest pervades all ranks and conditions of men.

All feel that there is to be a great question determined, and the disorderly and intemperate violence of the Loco Foco 'Swiss Guard,' the assimilation of the seat of government to that of a city given up to be sacked by a lawless band of ruffian soldiery, serves to augment this anxiety. It is a novel spectacle, and men who have been taught to reverence the laws, and to repose in security under their protecting arm, feel no slight alarm at the quartering of a staid army upon the Capitol! They read in history of such scenes being enacted by DESPOT to coerce an obedience to the tyrannical edicts of oppression and violence, but in modern times, and in free countries, such a thing has never before been heard of.

Harrisburg, Dec. 4, 1838.—For the first time in the history of the old Keystone, is the anomaly presented of two separate bodies organizing, and each claiming to be the true and legal House of Representatives. Singular and lamentable as this may be, such is the case. There are now in Pennsylvania two Houses of Representatives, each with its Speaker, Clerks, and full complement of officers. What will be the finale of this state of things it is impossible to imagine. At an early hour this morning, the galleries and avenues of the House, were in the possession of the multitude, all appearing to await with intense anxiety the raising of the curtain which was to open to their view the tragedy which all expected to be enacted. Many countenances betrayed the bulky impatiently awaiting the signal when the melee should commence, and they should be called upon to enact their respective parts.

Mr. Hill, at a few minutes before 11 o'clock, moved that the clerk open and read the returns from the City of Philadelphia. At this moment the Secretary of the Commonwealth being announced, entered and placed the official returns of the late election for Representatives upon the Clerk's desk.

The returns from the City being read, Mr. Shunk opened those from the County, but before he had commenced to read them, Mr. Pray, (one of the V. B. claimants from the County,) enquired of him by whom they were signed; he answered by Bela Badger and others. Mr. Pray then advanced to the Clerk's desk, and handed Mr. Shunk a certified copy of a return of his and his colleague's election, as made by certain judges of the County of Philadelphia. Mr. T. S. Smith (Whig) of the city, rose and protested against the reception of the returns handed in by Mr. Pray; he held them to be mere papers of as little moment to this House as a chapter from the *Proverbs*. He viewed the returns handed in by the Secretary of the Commonwealth, the legitimate officer recognized by law for this purpose, to be the only ones that could be entertained by the House. Mr. McElwee (V. B.) appealed to the galleries, to members and lookers on, to frown down what he viewed as an attempt to deprive 'the party' of its rights.

On motion of Mr. Hopkins, (V. B.) a copy of the Van Buren returns for the County of Philadelphia was read. The returns of the other Counties having been read, Mr. Stevens (Whig) rose and said he was about making a proposition of which course he expected would be sustained in perfect quietude and good order, by those who took the same view of the question as the gentleman from the city, (T. S. Smith) viz: that the only returns that could be received, were such as were communicated through a legal channel. If they were wrong in taking this view of the subject, then the courts afforded legal tribunals that could be appealed to. He fervently hoped that nothing would be done that would in the least compromise the dignity of the House or the honor of the State. His proposition was, that tellers be now appointed to officiate in the election of a Speaker. Messrs. Watts and Zelin were then appointed tellers, with instructions to call only the names of such as were believed to be legally returned.

Messrs. Watts and Zelin now proceeded to the clerk's desk, and called over the names of two members. The (Whigs) Democrats, (fifty-two) voted for Gen. T. S. Cunningham, and he was therefore declared to be duly elected.—While the names were being called, Mr. Hopkins moved that the names of the Van Buren members from 'the County' be entered on the list; and the clerk having done this, proceeded in a loud voice to call over the names, at the same time the call by the tellers was proceeding. Gen. Cunningham having been by the

tellers declared to be elected, was conducted to the chair, when the oath of office was administered to him by T. S. Smith. The Democratic (Whig) members now arranged themselves in front of the Speaker, and the requisite oaths were administered to them. While this business was proceeding, Mr. Shunk was calling out the names of members on the vote for Speaker; all that voted on this occasion, fifty-six in number, voted for Wm. Hopkins of Washington County.

The Democratic (Whig) members being now qualified—on motion of Mr. Spackman, committees to wait on the Senate and Governor were appointed. Messrs. Spackman and T. S. Smith were appointed to wait on the Senate, and Messrs. J. Cunningham and Crab to wait on the Governor.

Mr. Crab offered a resolution relative to the hours of meeting, so that there might be no collision between the two bodies, which was adopted. A committee was also appointed to report a system of rules for the government of the House. The other body was all this time proceeding in the despatch of its business. Mr. Stevens said, it was evident there were persons present who wished the use of the Hall. He would, therefore, move that the House do now adjourn. Which they did, to meet again to-morrow, at 11 1/2 o'clock, A. M.

After the Democrats had withdrawn, the Van Buren men also appointed committees to wait on the Governor and Senate, and then adjourned to meet again to-morrow, at 10 o'clock, A. M. As the motion to adjourn was being taken, Mr. Pray made some remarks about preventing the Democrats from entering the Hall to-morrow, which I did not distinctly hear.

In the afternoon, at three o'clock, the Senate met, when the names being called, twenty-six Senators answered to their names. The Secretary of the Commonwealth being now introduced, laid before the Senate the official returns of the late election for Senators. In the County of Philadelphia, it appears the Democratic candidates, Hanna and Wauer, are returned. From the Districts of Chester and of Huntingdon, the Van Buren candidates have been returned.—This act of Mr. Burrows shows in the strongest light his disposition to act impartially and honestly in respect to the election returns, which, in accordance with the strict letter and spirit of the laws, have been placed in his hands.

When the clerk had finished reading the returns from 'the County,' Mr. Brown rose and handed the clerk a copy of a return made by the ten judges. The Speaker decided that it could not be received.

Mr. Carpenter offered a resolution, calling upon the Secretary of the Commonwealth for copies of all communications in his possession relative to the late election. On proceeding to the second reading of this resolution, the yeas were 9, nays 12. On motion of Mr. Pearson, the returns from the Huntingdon district were postponed until the other senators elect should be sworn. On the motion, the yeas were 13, nays 8.

The Senate now proceeded to the election of their presiding officer, when Mr. Penrose received 19 votes and Mr. Carpenter 9, scattering 2. The speaker on taking the chair, addressed the Senate with his accustomed ability.

The Senators elect were now called up to take the requisite oaths, but were interrupted by Mr. Rogers, who moved that the ceremony, so far as it referred to the Senators from the County of Philadelphia, be postponed. After some debate, in the course of which the Van Buren Senators speaking, invariably appealed to the galleries, and were answered by shouts and huzzas. The very respectable personages there, appeared to be under the head of certain Custom House officers, and Post Office clerks from Philadelphia. This resolution was negatived, after which, I suppose the journals will say, the Senate adjourned. But such an interlude as was first enacted, I pray in God, as I love the institutions of my country, I may never see again. The Senate did adjourn, if they had not, blood, which the mob in the galleries called for, must have flown. The Senate having adjourned, John McCahen and Charles Brown addressed, what they called their constituents—the former denouncing the Secretary of State as a d-d villain; all this occurred in the Senate chamber. Amid all this confusion, J. McCahen mounted the Speaker's chair, and called upon the Democratic citizens of Pennsylvania to meet this evening in the Market House. God only knows what will ensue to-morrow.

THE HARRISBURG KEYSTONE (the spirit of which is habitually fervent) uses the following inflammatory language, having obviously a murderous design in view toward Thaddeus Stevens:

TREASONABLE ATTEMPT TO OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENT.

Revolutionary and treasonable proceedings have taken place in the Capitol of our beloved Commonwealth this day, which, whilst they show that our rights and liberties are in danger, demand, and must receive, the unqualified condemnation of every true republican, not only in Pennsylvania, but throughout the Union. As had been expected, Thaddeus Stevens, with his supple conjudors of the State Administration, undertook to consummate the frauds and iniquities which they have been practising upon our bleeding Commonwealth, during the last three years, by receiving the minority claimants from the County of Philadelphia, into the House of Representatives, and thus laying the foundation for organizing the Government under the new constitution, so as to take all appointments from Gov. Porter, and even to prevent his inauguration, and continue the government of the State another term in the hands of our present corrupt federal rulers. How much longer are the good, the moral, the quiet citizens of Pennsylvania, to be tormented by this arch-conspirator, who has, for three years, agitated the Commonwealth without ceasing—who has been incessantly engaged in endeavoring to overturn our institutions, and who has been the cause of squandering millions of the people's money to construct a useless rail road to his iron works—to buy up bullies to intimidate freemen at the polls, and to carry elections in Millerstown, &c. &c. How much longer OUGHT the people to bear with such a deadly enemy to honor, law and justice? Are they not ready to define the point of forbearance? Can they quietly suffer their dearest rights to be trampled in the dust by federal monarchists?

From the United States Gazette.

MOST DISGRACEFUL.

The letter which we publish this morning from Harrisburg, will be read with deep pain and mortification by every Pennsylvanian.

In addition to what is stated in the letter, we understand that the scene of violence in the Senate chamber was most shocking—in the midst of the uproar and confusion, it is said that the Speaker of the Senate called Mr. Rogers to the Chair, and left the chamber.

We are told that a gentleman who very much resembled Mr. Burrows, the Secretary of the Commonwealth, was seized by some of the ruffians and dragged to a light, when they exclaimed, 'this is not Burrows, but we will find the real and fix him yet.'

We subjoin the following extract of a letter, written by one who is no partisan, dated Harrisburg, Dec. 4. After referring to the proceedings in the Representative Hall, he says:—

When the Senate met at 3 o'clock this afternoon, the lobby was packed instantly. Penrose took the chair, and a good deal of parliamentary tactics were used on both sides to get up all the

returns; and great skill in Sutherland's *maneuver* evinced. Mr. Penrose was re-elected speaker, made a passable speech, and the tug of war began by an attempt to swear Hanna and his colleagues. The Senate had postponed the Huntington question, and decided that as the returns on their face were irregular, neither claimants should sit until investigation took place. It was then moved to postpone the county question in the same way, but after many violent efforts by the Van Buren men, it was voted down by a dead majority, and Penrose made some rather strained decisions on questions of order, and a very turbulent feeling began to display itself in the lobby, shouts of 'bear, hear, groans, cries of go on, &c. began to be very numerous, and clapping and shouting not a little; the row continued until confusion worse confounded took place, matters began to wear a serious personal aspect; 'give us our rights or we will take them' was often repeated, till by way of a lullaby for the mob, some senator proposed that Brown, the Van Buren senator elect from the county, be allowed to address the Senate. It was carried, for in fact they did not dare to refuse, and Brown began! In this crisis, Penrose called Rogers to the chair, and *told*. Burrows and Stevens stood in front of Brown, who began, and such a piece of speaking, I have seldom heard. He called Burrows a menial, and Stevens a villain, and that his walls were fouler than a jail; at all of which the mob did glorify exceedingly, and made symptoms of nabbing and lynching Stevens, Burrows, &c.; whereupon these gentlemen hoisted a window in a committee room, and crept out, and made off. By this time, the uproar was tremendous, order ceased to reign, and the Senate adjourned instantly. McCahen from the County, mounted a desk and harangued away tremendously. Brown followed from the speaker's chair, and after a deal of coaxing, got the mob to leave—for firing the capitol was spoken of—leave they did, with three cheers for Brown, and ditto groans for Stevens. To-night the excitement is very strong; the Van Buren men have a meeting at the court house at least 1000 strong, and the Whigs a caucus, and I fear to-morrow may make sad work, perhaps bloodshed.

HARRISBURG, Wednesday, 10 o'clock, A. M.

The mob is still in the ascendant—I concluded my former letter at the close of the morning session. By the resolution passed yesterday, the Democrats (Whigs) were to meet again to-day at 2 1/2 o'clock, P. M. From intimations thrown out during the day, it was known that personal violence, even to death, was threatened to Mr. Speaker Cunningham, should he attempt to take the chair.

The Serg. at Arms, it appears, had instructions to admit none of the Democratic (Whig) members from the County of Philadelphia within the bar, and to enforce this order. It appears he was to be assisted by that excellent body of police from 'the County,' now on duty here. Under those circumstances, it was deemed advisable for the Democrats (Whigs) not to assemble, but to adjourn until to-morrow. The Speaker deputed Mr. Spackman to act as Speaker *pro tem*—he went to the Capitol, entered the Hall, and was about advancing to the Speaker's chair, when he was met on the steps by Mr. McElwee, who declared if he persisted in taking the chair, it should be at the peril of his life!

A person from the County of Philadelphia was near Mr. McElwee, and joined in these threats. Some one of the Democratic members present called out that he should adjourn the house from the place he then stood in which he did, until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning. At the instant he was declaring the House to be adjourned, some of the gentlemen who appear to be legislating here, called out, 'No boys!' and at once the whole body rushed on Mr. Spackman, and dragged him to the door of the Hall; but by the interference of Charles Brown, the mob was prevented doing him any further violence. When the rush was made many of the Democratic members leaped out of the windows at the hazard of breaking a limb. In the evening the rioters had, as usual, a meeting in the Custom House, to further inflame those upon whom they depend for action.

Harrisburg, Wednesday 11 1/2 o'clock.

Riot and rebellion are still the order of the day; the arm of civil authority is as yet powerless. Measures are however in agitation, which it is hoped will ensure order, and the peaceful and undisturbed action of the Legislature. While writing this, there is a rumor among the crowd in the Representative hall, that the mob have taken possession of the Arsenal. The Democratic (Whig) Senators did not attend this morning at the hour to which they stood adjourned; there was consequently no quorum, and of course no session. This was the design of the mob who threatened personal violence to Senators, and more especially to the Speaker, frustrated. It would seem that Philadelphia bullies are the conservatives of our free institutions, upon whom we must rely for the correction of all irregularities in the body politic.

Mr. Penrose requested of Mr. Fullerton the performance of the duties of Speaker, he not deeming it advisable to attend the Senate under existing circumstances. Mr. Fullerton immediately adjourned the Senate until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, Dec. 5, 1838.

This morning the Locofocos commenced operations, by a meeting in the Court House, at which sundry threats were made that the arms in the State Arsenal should be taken by force, to drive the 'tyrants,' as they styled the Governor, Senate, and Cabinet, 'from power.' About ten o'clock, an order was sent from the Governor to the keeper of the Arsenal, to raise a force to defend it; whereupon he enrolled a posse of twenty-five men, and stationed them in the building.

By this time the Locofoco branch of the House of Representatives had met to go on with their movements, and soon adjourned, when a considerable mob collected in front of the Arsenal. A committee was then appointed by the Locofocos to confer with the friends of law and order, and induce them to withdraw the force from the Arsenal. It was then solemnly agreed upon, that the mob would withdraw, and the keeper of the Arsenal would pledge himself that no arms should be taken out for any purpose. The mob then withdrew, and soon after the garrison was dismissed, as the best mode of obtaining quiet, under the circumstances. This was about one o'clock, P. M.

After the garrison of the Arsenal had adjourned, a considerable number of the rioters assembled in Locust street, in front of Gleim's Hotel, where the orators delivered several inflammatory addresses, but as a heavy rain was descending at the time, they soon dispersed.

The Governor, we understand, has issued a proclamation, calling the citizens from abroad to hold themselves in readiness to aid in preserving civil government, in case the rioters persisted in their revolutionary measures.

We observe that the Keystone is out to-day, sanctioning the riotous proceedings of the Locofocos, and urging them to further deeds of violence.

It declares all civil government at an end, and calls upon its followers to proceed accordingly.

HARRISBURG, Dec. 5, 1838.
Mr. Penrose, the Speaker of the Senate, did not appear this morning, and the Chamber was again taken by Mr. Fullerton. The Chamber was again crowded, and the business was very noisy, but they did not do much damage to any thing.

The Hall of the House was also crowded, and Mr. Hopkins declared there was no quorum present. Mr. McElwee offered a resolution upon the old subject of his grievance, Gettysburg rail road. It was for the appointment of a committee to investigate its merits and recesses. He allowed it to lie upon the table.

Mr. Hopkins then made a speech in members on the subject of the compromise. He said such a course was in consequence of the committee had been appointed by the afternoon, to enable the compromise to be called for the report of the committee on the subject of the compromise. The Speaker said the committee was not appointed by the House, but by members out of it.

Mr. McElwee began a very farious speech addressed to the galleries. He said the compromise had been trified too long with, and the time for forbearance had passed. The Speaker called him to order, because there was a quorum before the House. Mr. McElwee said he was marching to the Capitol, and was stopped? His friends here persuaded him to stop. After much confusion, they agreed to meet again at 5 o'clock. At that hour there was no quorum, and after another adjournment between McElwee and Hopkins, they adjourned over until to-morrow.

The most extraordinary language has been for the last three days, uttered in the Hall of Legislation aloud, and uttered, the speaker has been called to order, and the speaker has been over—that the books were not to be consulted—that the only law now in force was that of God Almighty, as brought into the world by every man—meaning physical force. Such doctrines are uttered in the place which should be sacred to the laws and the constitution.

MILITARY PREPARATIONS!

The following Orders have been issued for the companies, &c.

HEAD QUARTERS, 1st Division, P. M.

The Governor of the Commonwealth has, in accordance with the Constitution and laws, directed forthwith to call out from my command, and immediately march to the seat of Government, a select detachment to quell an insurrection, which he has been informed has been raised by a body of men, who, in the Senate Chamber on the 4th inst. attempted to take of that body, and by lawless violence and bloodshed, to prevent it from performing its duties, and further that the same body of men, organized themselves, and resolved to compel the State to adopt their will as their law of action! In compliance with the said requisition, the volunteers of the First Division will assemble at the depot of the Pennsylvania Railroad, at Harrisburg, at 10 o'clock to-morrow, (Saturday), in broad day, at the Arsenal, P. M. precisely.

The Governor of the Commonwealth has, in accordance with the Constitution and laws, directed forthwith to call out from my command, and immediately march to the seat of Government, a select detachment to quell an insurrection, which he has been informed has been raised by a body of men, who, in the Senate Chamber on the 4th inst. attempted to take of that body, and by lawless violence and bloodshed, to prevent it from performing its duties, and further that the same body of men, organized themselves, and resolved to compel the State to adopt their will as their law of action!

The spirit of order and a sacred regard for the law, under which alone our liberties can be preserved, demand that the spirit of mischief should be instantly, energetically and effectually suppressed.

Brigadier Generals Goodwin and Frost will with immediate measures within their respective Brigades to carry this order into full effect.

The officers of the Rail Road have been requested to aid with the means of transportation.

By command of Major General R. PATTERSON.

JOHN MILES, Aid-de-camp.

BRIGADE ORDER, No. 32.

HEAD QUARTERS, 1st Br. 1st Div. P. M.

Philadelphia, Dec. 5, 1838.

In obedience to Division Orders of this date, the units of this Brigade will assemble in winter uniforms, with knapsacks and two days rations, in Broad street, at Market street, to-morrow morning at 7 o'clock. The Colonel commanding expects to see every soldier of the Regiment at the

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LITERARY.

For the Liberator.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE.

The slaves are kindly treated here,
(Comes echoing from the South.)
Fancies need not interfere—
I've heard it from their mouth.
Plenty to eat, enough to do,
For what more could they call?
And sleep made sweet by toil, you know,
Is pleasant to us all.
No doubts perplex their untamed minds,
Entirely free from care;
Of pleasures suited to their kind,
They have an ample share.
Now comes their welcome holiday,
They form a joyful ring;
Think not they are unhappy. Nay,
They gaily dance and sing.
You hear they live in constant fear—
They suffer, toil and bleed;
But they confess they're happy here,
And wish not to be freed.
Not so—the slave his freedom craves—
'We've heard it from the mouth
Of self-enslaved slaves,
Where they dare tell the truth.
No not deceived while men defraud
The laborers of their right;
Their cries are surely heard of God,
Who will their wrongs requite.
Now at our door a stranger stands,
With sad and pensive eyes;
Let us extend the friendly hand,
And ask him why he sighs.
'Speak, non-resistant, without fear—
Let us trouble know;
With sympathy thy friends would hear
From whence thy sorrows flow.
Believe us thy true friends in need,
Dismiss thy useless fears—
(The grateful stranger bows his head,
And finds relief in tears.)
'Kind friends, I was a southern slave
Most cruelly oppressed,
And I have many dangers braved,
To find a place of rest.
'Welcome, thrice welcome to our home,
While we regret the past;
We do rejoice to see thy doom
Thus far reversed at last.
'In glancing over my past life,
One troubled scene appears
Of cruel sufferings, mental strife,
Crushed hopes, and death-like fears.
As you my story wish to hear,
I the sad tale commence;
At seven sold from parents dear,
I have not seen them since.
Oh! the unutterable grief
That now depresses my heart!
No hope—no cause to hope relief,
No friend to take my part.
My master's children scorned my grief,
And mocked me when I sighed;
And oft I wished that ere I died
My parents, I had died.
Though hard my lot and coarse my food,
And oft I toiled till faint,
I learned to say my fare was good,
Nor dared to make complaint.
One good old man did condescend,
When I was but a youth,
To tell me that he was my friend,
And bade me tell the truth.
'Young man, does not thy mind (said he)
For freedom oft aspire?
Well, I would not discourage thee,
It is a just desire.
He said on his New-England soil,
The laborers all were free,
All camp onated for their toil—
Oh! how I longed to be!
And yet while my hard lot he mourned,
Pronouncing slavery wrong,
Evasive answers I returned—
Fear bridled then my tongue.
But thought from childhood bound by fear,
I meant when I arrived
To manhood, to be finding where
That good old Quaker lived.
But those who fail in their attempt
To find a better home,
Are sure of cruel punishment,
And it is death to come.
When such were punished, we must see
The tortures they endured,
That those who wished for liberty
Might have their wishes cured.
At length one fellow-sufferer fled,
In search the day was spent;
By his sad fate benumbed with dread,
I henceforth feigned content.
With scars upon my back, perchance,
While pangs my bosom wrung,
To change the scene I joined the dance,
And merrily I sung.
So time passed on. A tender wife
And one fine boy were mine;
They, with my thirst for liberty,
Around my hearthstir twine.
I sometimes labored for my life
Beneath a burning sun,
And to assist my feeble wife,
Left my own task undone.
Then, oh! what dread, what cowering fear,
Seized every weary limb!
For the inhuman overseer,
If we offended him,
Would show no mercy; but he seemed
To glory in our pains:
Awake or sleeping, still I dream
Of tortures, whips, and chains.
When I was punished the last time,
'Twas done to make me own
Participation in a crime
Of which I had not known.
Poor Betsey lost all self-command,
And hence her last offence,
Trembling she seized the drunkard's hand,
To plead my innocence.
But, oh! (he weeps) it ended well—
For she was soon released;
Victim to brutal rage she fell,
And all her sufferings ceased.
My breaking heart said, thank the Lord,
She's paid her tyrant's power!
But ill my desperate thoughts accord
In this heart-trying hour.
And now my Charley's helpless case
I deeply mourned; meanwhile
More fondly in his youthful face
I traced his mother's smile.
But soon, alas! my only joy—
Oh wretchedness untold!
Soon was my little prattling boy
Torn from my arms and sold!
I do not promise him relief,
Nor soothe his piteous cry;
And in an agony of grief,
I prayed that he might die.
Life seemed a sad, terrific dream—
Despair my soul possessed;
Ah, then methought, in yonder stam
I'll plunge and be at rest.
But when I with determined step
Sought my intended grave,

Hope whispered, thou wilt yet escape—
Live and not be a slave!Then did my earnest prayer ascend
That God would interpose,
And bring by his own outstretched hand,
My conflict to a close.Oh Lord, thou know'st I've suffered long—
My sorrows are increased;
Oh, wilt thou pardon all that's wrong,
And let me be released!Hope brightens! may I spend my flight
Beyond the tyrant's power;
Wilt thou protect me day and night,
And guard me every hour.In pity aid me to the place
To which I fain would flee,
And the remainder of my days
Will I devote to thee.Hope smiling soothed my troubled breast,
I did not plead in vain;
Forthwith I rose, and onward pressed,
My freedom to obtain.All night with weary step I trace
My star-directed way,
And in some lone sequestered place,
I sought repose by day.Thus I at midnight's dismal hours
Traced my bewildered road,
Chilled by night frosts or drenched in showers,
And fainting, without food.Yet hope did not forsake me quite,
While thus forlorn I strayed;
Conscious that I was doing right,
I looked to heaven for aid.And though I knew not how or where
To find this favored land,
Thanks be to God! he heard my prayer,
And led me by His hand.No comment here is requisite;
None who have ever heard
Of slavery, as it now exists,
Can doubt the stranger's word.

Litchfield, Maine, 7th mo. 1838. L. F.

NON-RESISTANCE.

CORRESPONDENCE.

BROTHER GARRISON—Please enroll the undersigned
as a member of the Non-Resistance Society.

DANIEL SHAW.

The names of several individuals, male and female,
of Gloucester, Mass. have been forwarded to us
as members of the N. R. Society. We invite those
whose sentiments are in accordance with the pacific
views entertained by the Society, to send us their
names as soon as convenient.Extract of a letter from an early abolition friend in
Pawtucket, R. I.I did not have an opportunity to attend more than
half of the meetings of the late Peace Convention in
Boston; but I wish my name appended to the Declara-
tion of Sentiments, and to the Constitution of the Non-
Resistance Society. There are some more in Pawtucket,
I think, who would like to sign. The principles
I am sure must and will prevail.

Extract of a letter from Plainfield, Connecticut:

DEAR BROTHER GARRISON—The principles of non-
resistance must be carried out in the lives of Christians,
or the world will still remain in unbelief. I trust you
have great consolation from God in reflecting that the
secret of the Lord is with you. The wise shall under-
stand, but the wicked shall do wickedly, and none of
the wicked shall understand. (Daniel xii. 10.) Let
my name be enrolled among the army of Non-Resist-
ants; for Christ will fight for those who will not take
the carnal sword; and he will slay his foes with the
sword that proceeds out of his mouth. Be of good
cheer, though briars and thorns be with you, and you
dwell among scorpions. Your sword is glittering
truth, and enemies quail before it. May God be glori-
fied!The principles avowed by the Non-Resistance Peace
Society, in their Declaration of Sentiments, I endorse,
having been persuaded of their correctness for more
than thirty years, and have been called upon in a for-
eign land to evince the sincerity of my faith by my
practice of that love of Christ, which obliterates from
the soul the divisional lines which human policy inter-
poses between sects, empires, and states. O, Holy
Love! rule thou in our hearts richly, in all wisdom.I send enclosed \$3, to pay for the Liberator for the
year ending May, 1839. I shall probably continue to
take the paper, if any, after that time, if it continues to
advocate the cause of Peace. You must be sustained
by superhuman power to carry on the work of illumi-
nating the minds of men on the subject of Slavery and
Peace. There are very many who are convinced that
the position you take is the only tenable ground, but
have not moral courage to come on to it; for they must
give their lives as a prey, and be possessed of the divine
nature of the Prince of Peace. Entire reliance upon
the efficiency of his laws, and unreserved obedience to
them alone, will effect the coming of his kingdom.
Who is it that prays, 'Thy kingdom come?' He who
would lose his life for Christ's sake.

GLOUCESTER, Dec. 3, 1838.

FRIEND GARRISON:

I feel as though you required that I should give my
feeble testimony in support of the principles of the
New-England Non-Resistance Society. I was con-
vinced of the truth of those principles more than twenty
years since, and have endeavored to practice upon
them as far as duty has been made known; and I
now feel thankful to God that he called me to bear the
yoke in the prime of my days—for I have found the
yoke to be easy and the burden light. I do not believe
the standard of the Non-Resistance Society to be too
high, but anticipate the time when more light shall
burst forth, and dispel the clouds of darkness which
now surrounds the horizon—when those who name the
name of Christ shall depart from all iniquity—when
infidels shall not say, 'See how those Christians mur-
der one another!'—when war and slavery, and their
kindred vices, shall be banished forever. My faith is
strong that the time draws nigh when'Jesus shall reign where'er the sun
Does his successive journeys run—'when men shall regard each other as brethren of the
same family.Our principles are taking strong hold in this vicinity.
Friend Wright has been with us about three
weeks, and has lectured in this town and Essex about
twenty times to full and attentive audiences, and re-
quested opponents, if there were any, to bring forward
their objections; and those who wished for more infor-
mation, to ask questions; and he would cheerfully an-
swer them. But few came forward: being convinced
in their own minds, they were speechless: and I have
no doubt in my mind, that more than seven out of
eight were fully convinced that the principles were
agreeable to the gospel.The words of the Psalmist have struck my mind as
being peculiarly applicable to the Non-Resistance So-
ciety:—'Why do the heathen rage, &c. Why is it
that the ecclesiastical and the political powers are out
upon the Non-Resistance Society? Is it because they
fear a few poor deluded men and women, who meet to-
gether and put forth a certain set of opinions? No, I
believe it is not; but it is the truth contained in those
opinions that they fear. They fear lest their system
of self-defence should be stripped of its gaudy covering,
and held up to the public gaze in all its native and
naked deformity. They fear to put their trust in God
for protection, because they are conscious that they
walk not according to his precepts.We have a number of names given to the Non-Resis-
tance Society, and I expect to obtain a number more
of those who are determined to do right, even at the
loss of all things.I remain, a friend to you and all mankind,
THOMAS HASKELL.

W. L. Garrison.

For the Liberator.

Essex, Nov. 27, 1838.

To G. C. Beckwith, Cor. Sec. of the American
Peace Society. No. 11.
CONGRESS OF NATIONS.

MY BROTHER:

We have no energies nor money to waste in
the cause of Peace. You are devoting your en-
ergies mainly to get up a Congress of Nations.
I doubt not the purity of your motives, the ear-
nestness of your zeal, the strength of your faith,
the sincerity of your wishes, nor the brightness
of your hopes. But had you not better try the
plan first on a smaller scale?You aim to establish a tribunal for the
peaceful adjustment of international difficulties.
Its decisions to be final; its decrees merely ad-
visory; and its sanctions never to include or in-
volve a resort to the sword. See Advocate of
Peace for Nov. pages 2 and 3.Suppose you were to direct all your efforts
to convert the U. S. Congress into such a tribu-
nal, and to bring the twenty-four United States
to adopt the plan of settling all their inter-state
difficulties by a 'peaceful agreement between the
parties, without foreign aid—or by amica-
ble reference to a third party.' See Nov. Ad-
vocate of Peace, page 62. Or suppose you
were to direct all your efforts to make over the
legislative body of Massachusetts into such an
advisory tribunal, whose 'decrees are to be en-
forced only by moral means,' and get the 300
towns in this State to refer all their inter-town
difficulties to this body, whose 'sanctions
should never include or involve a resort to the
sword.' Get these 300 towns to form them-
selves into a Non-Resistance Society of towns,
solemnly declaring it to be 'incompatible with
the genius, precepts and spirit of Christianity'to appeal to the sword in any form to settle their
difficulties.Or suppose you try it on a still smaller scale,
and join the N. E. Non-Resistance Society,
whose members 'agree in opinion' that men
ought to settle all their inter-individual diffi-
culties in the very way in which you are trying
to get nations to settle theirs—i. e. by 'peace-
ful agreement between the parties, without foreign
aid—or by amicable reference to a third party.'Never to aid in a tribunal, whose
sanctions include or involve a resort to the
sword. Never to appeal to such a tribunal;
and never to aid in enforcing its decrees by 'a
resort to the sword.'Now, we think it much easier to get individ-
uals to act on this plan, than towns; towns than
states; states than nations. I would ask, then,
would it not be a saving of time, and labor, and
money, for the American Peace Society to direct
all its efforts to get individuals to settle their in-
ter-individual difficulties by mutual agreement,
love and forgiveness, or by an appeal to a tribu-
nal whose 'decrees are enforced only by moral
means?' Then, after the individuals have
come into the plan, we will go on to towns;
then to states; then to nations. Then the throne
of physical might will be beaten up; the throne of
physical might overturned; slavery abolished; man
redeemed, disenthralled from the dominion of
brute force; the 'peaceful kingdom of the Son of
God' established; and the only object
of the N. E. Non-Resistance Society completely
accomplished.Yours, for the protection of moral power,
H. C. WRIGHT,

Agent of the N. E. N. R. S.

A pertinent, well-reasoned essay.—Ed.

For the Liberator.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

What, all war wrong?

Yes, says the Peace man.

Then the war which gained American Inde-
pendence, our glorious Revolutionary war, was
wrong!

It was.

Then, sir, tell me this, if you can. Where
would our great, prosperous, and happy country
have been at this moment, but for that war?I will tell you. It would have been more
prosperous, more moral and happier than it
now is.You cannot surely believe such an absurdity.
Wonderfully prosperous and happy we should be,
no doubt, remaining to this hour under the
tyranny of Great Britain!There is your mistake, my friend. You take
it for granted, without examination, that we
could never have freed ourselves from British
domination, except by war. Now I say, that we
should have attained independence as effectually,
as speedily, as honorably, and under very much
more favorable circumstances, if we had not re-
sorted to arms.Very well: now show me how it could have
been done.Our fathers might have accomplished this
object, great as it was, merely by taking the
course which the society of Friends took to
maintain their rights, and by which, though a
small and despised body of men, they compelled
the English and American governments to re-
cognize and protect those rights. Let a steady
and quiet refusal to comply with unjust requisitions;
2d. public declarations of their grievances, and
demands for redress; and 3d. patient endurance
of whatever violence was used to compel their
submission. We have every reason to expect
that steady perseverance in a course like this
will ultimately succeed wherever the cause is
just. Because 'moral might is always on the
side of right'; and because governments are
composed of men, and not of brutes.Let us suppose for a moment that our fathers
had acted in the manner I have mentioned, and
see what the various stages of the process would
have been. In every part of the contest, they
strictly adhere to the principles above stated.
They carefully refrain from violence, constantly
remonstrate against the oppressive acts, and
persevere in passive resistance. When the
taxed tea is brought to their shores, they uni-
versally abstain from the use of it. It lies un-
demanded in the ware-houses, and thus the
plan of taxation, as far as that article goes, is as
completely defeated as it could have been by
violence and robbery. When the stamped
paper is taxed, they carry on their business
without it. This involves great difficulty, in-
convenience, and embarrassment of business.
No matter! They are patriots, and willing to
suffer for their country; and the evils thus en-
dured are infinitely less than the calamities of
war. If direct taxes are laid upon them, they
quietly, but universally, refuse payment. Their
property is seized and sold to raise the tax.
They patiently submit to this evil for their
country's sake, and rejoice that it is so slight in
comparison with war. Imprisonment, insult,
and abuse of every kind are added to enforce
the oppressive acts of parliament. Still no vi-
olence is used either for defence or retaliation;
but petitions, remonstrances, delegations are
multiplied as the occasions for them recur.
When all these measures are found to fail of
success, they unite in solemn assembly to make
to the world a declaration of their wrongs, and
pronounce their formal separation from, and in-
dependence of the British nation. This move-
ment excites new and more violent demon-
strations of hostility on the part of the British
functionaries. The signers of the Declaration of
Independence, and the officers of the new gov-
ernment, are seized and sent to England to take
their trial for high treason. No opposition is
made, no defence attempted by the patriot lead-
ers. They are ready to lay down their lives insupport of the liberty of their country, and they
rejoice to meet the danger in this form, in which
they can explain and defend their principles,
rather than to submit their cause to the decision
of brute force on the battle-field, where their
own fall would involve the destruction of thou-
sands of their countrymen. They are tried by
the constituted authorities of England, and
calmly and bravely defend their revolutionary
measures. They are found guilty, sentenced to
death, and (for we will suppose the worst)
actually executed as traitors. But their defence,
their bold and clear explanation of the principles
of liberty, their new views of the relative rights
and duties of a government and its subjects, are
in the mean time eagerly read and pondered by
all the British nation. And while this good
seed is taking root in the hearts of the people,
the source of power, let us return to the United
States, and see what the revolutionists, thus
suddenly deprived of their leaders, are doing.As soon as that noble band of pioneers is
taken from them, they choose others to admin-
ister the affairs of the new nation. These, too,
are seized as rebels. They immediately elect
more. What shall the colonial officers do
against such pertinacious, yet unresisting oppo-
nents? The whole population avow their de-
termination to be free. The whole population
offer themselves for punishment. The prisons
are filled to overflowing with rebels; yet they
have accomplished nothing, for every man they
meet is a rebel. What is to be done? Shall
they send for an army? That is needless, for
their present force is unresisted. But suppose
an army comes. They can do nothing but take
prisoners and destroy property, and perhaps ex-
ecute a few persons; for I take it for granted
that they would not attempt to put to death the
great mass of the population. All that they do
to enforce obedience renders them more odious
to the people, and nothing is effected towards
destroying the principles of liberty. Intellig-
ence arrives of the death of their leaders in
England. This adds fuel to the fire. Their
determination, before strong, is now irrevocable.
On the other hand, the news of their measures,
their pertinacity, and their non-resistance, is
constantly going to the people of England, a
people already moved to sympathy by the con-
stancy and heroism of the patriot leaders, and
already half persuaded by the arguments of
those leaders that their cause is just. Can it
be imagined, is it consistent with the attributes
of human nature to suppose, that such a perse-
vering and undaunted defence of principles so
just would fail of working conviction in the
hearts of a people like the English? Even
were it possible for Parliament to persevere in
the attempt to subjugate such opponents by
force, the whole English people, the whole civil-
ized world indeed, would cry out shame upon
them, and force them to abandon the design,
and finally to recognize the independence of the
Americans.It follows as a necessary inference from the
principles before alluded to, namely, that moral
might is always on the side of justice, and that
governments and legislatures are never destitute
of the feelings and sympathies of men, that firm
perseverance in such a course as I have de-
scribed must have resulted in the acknowl-
edgment of American Independence; and prob-
ably that result would have occurred in much less
time than was occupied by the revolutionary
war. This will be made perfectly clear by
looking for a moment at the real reason why
Great Britain at last gave up the contest. Did
we conquer that mighty nation? Not at all!
Still less did they conquer us! Why, then, did
not the war continue? Simply and solely be-
cause Great Britain was tired of fighting! ab-
solutely wearied out by contention and its ne-
cessary consequences! Would not a similar
pertinacity in time produce the same effect with-
out the use of physical force? I say we should
certainly in this way have attained our Inde-
pendence.We will now suppose this object effected.
Let us see what evils the pacific course has
produced, in comparison with the evils actually
resulting from the revolutionary war.1st. Loss of LIFE. We will make a liberal
estimate, and allow that one thousand persons
have been executed as traitors, after deliberate
trial and sentence; and that ten thousand, (men,
women and children), have been slain, unre-
sisting, by the exasperated British soldiers.
Upon this enormously exaggerated supposition,
we have eleven thousand lives lost. But it is
computed that a hundred thousand Americans
perished during the eight years of the revolu-
tionary war. We have then a direct saving of
eighty-nine thousand lives of American citizens
by pacific measures. This alone should decide
the question in favor of peace. But we have
other considerations.21. EXPENSE, DIRECT AND INDIRECT. Com-
merce, trade and manufactures have been to a
great extent suspended, and a large amount of
property has been wantonly destroyed by the
ravages of the enemy. But all this would
have happened to a still greater extent in war,
and the non-resisting policy has saved us the
enormous expense of supporting an army and
navy, and of building and equipping fortifica-
tions. The direct expense of the revolutionary
war to our country is estimated by Pitkin at
\$135,000,000. The same author has stated the
direct expense of our military operations, since
that war, to be more than \$300,000,000. All
this, at least \$435,000,000, we should have
saved by the pacific policy.3d. THE INTERESTS OF MORALITY AND RELI-
GION. If a whole people have such a sense of
their duty to God as to refuse to protect them-
selves by means which he has forbidden, they
will not be likely to neglect either to recognize
his hand, or to implore his protection throughout
the struggle. The Sabbath has been strictly
observed, and the supplications of the nation
have arisen more ardently than ever to him who
holds the hearts of kings in his hand. The
mass of the people, having their minds intently
fixed on the great struggle between liberty and
oppression, and anxiously watching the contest
of faith, love, patience and hope, against carnal
weapons, have been strongly withheld both from
trifling amusements and vicious indulgences.
At the close of the struggle, therefore, the inter-
ests of religion and morality are more flourish-
ing than at its commencement.But, on the other hand, look at the long train
of moral evils which crowd in the track of our
revolutionary war. Intemperance, which has
now become so extensively the disgrace of our
land, unquestionably had its origin in the daily
rations of spirituous to the revolutionary army
and navy. Sabbath-breaking was abhorred by
the descendants of the pious pilgrims, until war,
which knows no Sabbath, broke over the approp-
riate employment of that day, and the reverence
due to it. Licentiousness, the proverbial
inmate of every camp, and profaneness, a vice
almost universal among soldiers, have fearfully
increased since their toleration in the revolution-
ary army and navy. Then the whole spirit and
practice of war produce a slight estimation of
the value of human life. Habits of plunder de-
stroy that regard which we naturally feel for
the sacredness of private property. The absolute
and unconditional obedience demanded by
military superiors takes away the sense of indi-
vidual responsibility to God. In short, war is
permitted to suspend all the rules of morality.The loss of \$400,000,000, and even the de-
struction of 100,000 lives, appear but trifling
evils in comparison with the enormous deprava-
tion of moral habits and religious principles
which the revolutionary war has produced in
this nation.The considerations above mentioned, entirely
satisfy me not only that we should have gained
our independence, but that we should have been
more prosperous, better, and happier than we
now are, had there been no revolutionary war.
So much for pacific results of the non-resis-
tance plan. It may now be well to look at the
subject in another aspect, and see what results
would not have taken place, had our ancestors
been magnanimous enough, honorable enough,
Christian enough, to refuse to fight with Great
Britain.Having gained their independence in the
mode above mentioned, most assuredly they
WOULD NOT HAVE CONTINUED TO HOLD THEIR FELLOW-CREATURES IN SLAVERY.Upon this point we cannot be mistaken!
Men who had been led by christian principle to
regard the rights, and abstain from the destruc-
tion of their enemies, could not have deliberately
pursued a system of oppression and fraud
against their former fellow sufferers. Men who
had so strongly demonstrated their belief in the
doctrine that the whole human race are alike
entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of hap-
piness, could not have systematically manufac-
tured and used whips, chains, handcuffs, and
branding-irons. They would not have kept
back the hire of the laborer; they would not
have taken away the key of knowledge; they
would neither have denied the theory nor shrunk
from the practice of immediate emancipation.
They would certainly have been, in truth as
well as in pretence, a free people.Again, they would not have proceeded to
defraud, corrupt, and exterminate the original
inhabitants of this country. They would neither
have deprived the Indians of their lands, nor
supplied them with liquid fire, nor broken their
faith, plighted in solemn treaties, nor expended
the revenues of the country in making war upon
them. How much treasure, how much blood,
how many precious lives, how many immortal
souls might they have saved!Lastly, they would not have admitted the
system of violence and retaliation as a constitu-
ent part of their own government. Having
forgotten their foreign foes, they would pursue
the like christian course towards every domestic
enemy. Having conquered by suffering in the
great contest between nations, they would
trust to the same means for overcoming all
minor evils. So far from depending on the
gallows, the prison, the stocks, the whipping-
post, for peace and quietness, they would ut-
terly have rejected all such barbarous instru-
ments, and substituted for them love, joy, peace,
long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, hope,
patience, meekness, &c. And, doing thus, they
would have found the word of God a sure reli-
ance; the whole armor of God a safe protec-
tion.

C. K. W.

PEACE AT THE WEST. It gives us pleasure to per-
ceive, by the following advertisement which is
very conspicuously printed in the Cincinnati Philanthropist,
that the non-resistance doctrine is received approx-
imately by individuals at the West:DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS, adopted
by the Peace Convention, held in Boston, September
15th, 19th, and 20th.—Printed on white, straw-colored
paper, 10x12, and 10x14. Printed on pink, and salmon-colored
paper, 10x12, and 10x14. Printed on blue, and green-colored
paper, 10x12, and 10x14. Price, single copy, on paper, 12 cts.; on
cotton, 75 cts. For sale at the corner of Main and Sixth-streets,
Cincinnati, by S. A. Alley, and at Ludlow's Station, by
John O. Wattle.

POLITICAL.

From the Lowell Journal.

ANTI-SLAVERY.

We place below a letter addressed to the
Bristol County Anti-Slavery Society, by the
Rev. Samuel J. May of South Scituate. This
gentleman has long been known to the public,
as an early, consistent, devoted abolitionist, and
as such, his opinions are entitled to no small de-
gree of respect and consideration with his breth-
ren, and fellow laborers. It will be seen by re-
ferring to this letter, and we hope our readers
will give it a perusal, that the Hon. John Q.
Adams is in some danger of being denounced
by the ultra abolitionists, for entertaining un-
sound opinions touching the powers and duties
of Congress, in relation to the abolition of slav-
ery in the District of Columbia. It was to sup-
press the expression of any such feeling towards
Mr. Adams, that this letter was written. Al-
though written for this special purpose, the sen-
timents it contains, however, are of general ap-
plication, and are sound, just and honorable.
'It seems to me,' says Mr. May, 'that all we
abolitionists ought to demand of any one, as the
condition of receiving our support, is, evidence
that he is heartily opposed to slavery, and deems
its abolition of paramount importance to the
welfare of our country, and the cause of human-
ity.' This is reasonable and right, and will be
so regarded, we doubt not, by the great body
of abolitionists in our commonwealth, however he-
retical it may be considered by a few overheat-
ed partisans, whose zeal is apt to run away with
their discretion. If a man be sincerely desirous
of promoting the glorious cause of emancipa-
tion, and ready to use all his influence in favor
of freedom and human rights, he is worthy of
our support, provided he have other necessary
qualifications for the office for which we design
him. We ought not to prescribe to him a spe-
cific course of action, nor require of him a pledge
to the same effect. Assured that he is sound
in principle, we should leave him to act accord-
ing to the dictates of his own conscience and
judgment, and to be guided in his duty by a
wise discretion, and the indications of times and
circumstances.In this connection, we have a word or two
to say in regard to the course adopted toward
the distinguished gentleman, who represents our
own district, No. 3. An anti-slavery conven-
tion, held in Essex county, undertook to ques-
tion the several candidates for Congress, touch-
ing their opinions upon the abolition of slavery
in the District of Columbia and the Territory of
Florida—the suppression of the inter-state slave
trade, &c. At an appointed day, a meeting
was held to consider the answers, and to deter-
mine who should be supported, and who not.
On this occasion, Mr. Stanton, an anti-slavery
agent, but neither an inhabitant of our district,
nor a citizen of the commonwealth, was chief
speaker, and in his treatment of Mr. Cushing
was most grossly and wantonly abusive. It
was finally voted that Mr. C's answer was un-
satisfactory, and the edict of a little convention,
held in Salem, went forth requiring the vot-
ers in the district No. 3, to withhold their votes
from their long tried and faithful Representative.
This convention, of a dozen or so, for we be-
lieve the number composing it was very small,
undertook to decide for the whole body of aboli-
tionists, that Mr. Cushing was not entitled to
support. A more barefaced attempt at dictation,
and one that more signally and disgracefully
failed, we have never known. Are not the aboli-
tionists competent to judge for themselves, of
the fitness of the candidates that may be pre-
sented for their suffrages, or must a convention
be assembled to decide for them? The aboli-
tionists form a pretty numerous body in our
neighborhood, and with their acknowledged
honesty, intelligence and devotion to principle,
they may safely be trusted with the elective
franchise, without the intervention of their self-
conceited guardians. Mr. Cushing's course in
Congress has been open, manly, decided and
unflinching upon every question that has arisen
in the House, relating to slavery, in any and all
of its bearings; and is there an abolitionist that
doubts his readiness to do every thing he can,
constitutionally can, to remove the nation's shame,and the nation's curse? Is not his past conduct
an ample pledge, and the very best pledge that
he will always be found in the line of duty, and
will be time enough to denounce him, when he
shall have proved himself recreant to the cause
of humanity. We trust that the abolition-
ists, as a body, will not unite in the election
of a man who has sacrificed his faithful public ser-
vice to a few rash and hasty men, who are
to be leaders, raise the war-cry against them,
and will not longer defend our readers from
the letter of Mr. May.The above article, from a partisan source, we
think go far toward convincing our brethren of
the unsoundness of his letter respecting Mr. Adams,
which we commented upon in a late number.

ENCOURAGEMENT TO EFFORT.

Never has there been a time, since the
pebble was dropped upon the smooth surface
of the stagnant pool of American feeling in re-